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perhaps Russia may conquer some bloody gain, and so more tremendous war preparations again begin.

The peace of the world, especially of the great military nations of Europe, demand that Alsace and Lorraine be neutralized by universal consent and that then and thereafter France and Germany cease their hatred and preparations for war, with a neutral zone established between their boundaries, which both nations will in good faith agree to respect.

Some such consummation can alone put an end to the war spirit and war preparation of Europe. Will not every friend of peace among men strive to promote such peaceful issue to the present war furor in Germany and France?

Listen to a few words from a staunch friend of Peace in the English House of Commons, Hon. James Stansfeld: "The condition of Europe, with its armed States, is becoming absolutely intolerable. But a light is being forced from behind the clouds; a perfect revolution in the idea of war is being developed. The question is this: Is the future to be law or war? Are belligerents or neutrals to make the law of the future? Is war the natural state of nations? Or is not rather the condition of Peace the natural state? Is there to be constant international anarchy or shall we organize the nations into a civilized society of nations? An organization is wanted capable of creating and enforcing international law."

No wonder then that the plan of arbitration of the Pan-American Congress opens with the solemn declaration that "War is the most cruel, the most fruitless and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences."

This is the conviction which has rested deep in the conscience and the intelligence of the American people in these recent years. The United States have taken vigorous action towards the creation, first, of special treaties of arbitration, then of a system of arbitration, and the air is now vibrating with the thought of a High Court of Arbitration to produce peace among all nations who are parties to its creation. A resolution looking to this result has been introduced into the Senate of the United States and a committee created by this Congress will be created to urge its consideration and acceptance by the world.

The action of this Congress on Thursday in offering to your consideration a scheme for a High Court of Arbitration will promote this most desirable result.

Because truth is mighty and the cause of justice must prevail under the providence of God, even so we may feel sure that this great cause in which we have rejoiced to labor, to hasten the day when a High Court may keep the peace among nations, will surely prevail and causes of war grow fewer and the brotherhood of man be a felt power in the world.

"In fact the possibility of any one nation standing out against the principle of peaceful arbitrament after a vast majority of governments have coalesced in such grand elevation of the race, is hardly a supposable case. We believe that no monarch would dare to brave the weight of such a sentiment of amelioration for human suffering, or even to seem to oppose the impetus which such absence of the possibility of wars would bring to mankind, especially so after a majority of the most enlightened governments of the world had agreed that arbitration should hereafter rule, and that the nations should study war no more." — *Microcosm*.

A MILITARY MAN'S VIEW OF ARBITRATION.

BY GEN. CHARLES H. HOWARD.

Paper read before the Chicago Peace Congress.

I would not have any one imagine that I think for a moment that those who are sitting before me need any additional arguments on this great question. I cannot feel that I am presenting even a military man's point of view as any instruction to you who hear me. But there are two points that I have selected, which perhaps when treated from a military point of view may furnish new force to the old argument for those whom we need to bring with us in this great cause. I have noted that arbitration has often settled more than one point. It seems that in the Geneva arbitration five points that might, under some circumstances, have been the cause of war, were settled. It seems to me that we cannot magnify the importance of this triumph which is before us at this moment, and I hardly like to turn your thought one moment from the special subject that is to be presented to us to-day, namely, what can we do to bring about the establishment of a permanent tribunal to settle these great questions. On my way here this morning I had illustrated, in a little conversation with a neighbor, one way in which perhaps some military points of view may aid us in bringing the public sentiment of the country to us. We were talking of the improvements of the implements of war. This gentleman suggested to me that it was not impossible at all that we might come to see two armies both utterly destroyed by dynamite. Just a moment's thought of that I think illustrates well the absurdity, the utter absurdity of appealing to such a tribunal as that in this period of reason. But in order that I might keep myself within the bounds of the short time allotted I have noted down on these two points what I have to say.

The subject assigned me—"Reasons for Arbitration from the Point of View of a Military Man"—admits of a much more elaborate treatment than the time for a single paper would permit. I have therefore selected two special fields of observation; one, the modern appliances of warfare with their increased and constantly increasing facilities for killing; the other, the history of wars and battles as they are written for popular use. My thought is that a military man or a man whose experience has made him a participator and personal observer of battles will take a different view of these two fields of observation from that taken by most other persons and hence may derive not perhaps new reasons for arbitration but add to the old and well established reasons new force.

It has been argued that the perfection of the implements of modern warfare, and especially their enormous destructive power would diminish war. The history of nations to the present does not prove this. The fact that science has been so applied that every battle fought must mean a holocaust of human sacrifice does not prevent rulers from declaring war, nor does it prevent the people through their legislative bodies from voting the funds to create and equip armies. It does not even prevent volunteer enlistments and the filling up of depleted ranks after war has actually begun. But on the other hand the vast attainments of applied science in the arts of warfare, if fully comprehended with their possible results, supply a ground for a new and convincing appeal to all rational beings to take steps to prevent wars. Mere statistics, however cumulative and cogent in their application, do not always convince, much less stir to action. An exhibi-

tion of modern appliances of war, such as may be seen at the Columbian Exposition, will have more effect upon the mind and be longer remembered. To see these tools of destruction in use would leave an impression still more indelible.

In like manner the history of wars as usually written does not tend to prevent their repetition. The ardor and beauty of patriotism are depicted. The romance and glory of campaigns and battles are made to glow in the narrative. Courage, heroism and self-sacrifice are glorified as they deserve to be. History as hitherto written only helps on the infatuation, which

"Seeks the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth."

Unless mankind shall produce a war literature different from that of the historian as now known and read, Whittier's lines will continue to be both historic and prophetic:

"Still shall the glory and the pomp of war
Along their train the shouting millions draw;
Still dusty Labor to the passing brave
His cap shall doff, and Beauty's kerchief wave;
Still shall the bard to valor tune his song,
Still Hero-worship kneel before the strong."

But the measureless suffering of the field, the hearts wrung at home, the orphans and widows made and the aged fathers and mothers going down with sorrow to the grave—more than this, worse than this, the multiplication of vices innumerable, of crimes, the destruction of right habits, the breaking down of characters, the general lowering of the moral standards—what historians even attempt a portrayal of these results? The actual experience and personal observation of a military man must take in all these. Divested of the glamour of romance they can but afford a true basis, a basis not given by ordinary history, for an appeal to persons of reason, of conscience and of humane sympathies to take action, in this nineteenth century day, to prevent wars.

In looking upon the perfected enginery of war, therefore, at the Columbian Exposition, shall we not view it with a purpose beyond that of mere wondering curiosity? What should be some of its lessons? May we not profitably mingle with the sight-seeing some recollections of actual war? If by so doing we may learn to read between the lines in reading history, it will be a gain for humanity; but still farther, if the Columbian quadri-centennial celebration shall foster the conviction that wars ought now to cease; and, above all, should it inaugurate a world-wide movement to establish an international tribunal to which may be referred all disputes and differences which have in time past been the occasions of war, and so reduce to the minimum the possibilities of war, it would be an end worthy of the Christian hero whose achievements we have undertaken to celebrate. It would be worthy of the high moral purposes and the humane endeavors that characterize our period of history. It would make real what has been the dream of the great prophets and seers from the day of Isaiah until that of Hugo, Tennyson and Whittier.

It does not require military education or experience to appreciate the wonderful attainments of science in the manufacture of the war implements to be seen at the Exposition. But some such thoughts as have been indicated of the profounder meaning and suggestiveness of these exhibits may deepen our interest in them and enable us to take away an impression more permanent and, we may hope, more useful to mankind. Take, for example, the Krupp gun building. The magnificence of some of

these engines of war and the appalling record of their performance approach the sublime. Think of a gun for coast defence forty-eight feet long, seventeen-inch bore, weight, 140 tons; weight of carriage, 150 tons. Then think of what it can do. It shoots twenty miles and has pierced steel plates two feet thick at nine miles. Each projectile is five feet long. The primary purpose of the gun is to destroy war-ships, but besides the steel-pointed shell for this purpose it shoots steel shrapnels filled with small balls—3000 in each. This shrapnel shell bursts and the balls are scattered, hurled with great velocity, so that besides the destructive power of the steel fragments of the shell is added that of all these 3000 bullets—equal to the muskets of three regiments. Indeed, few regiments contain 1000 effective men. Here is, then, in one projectile, the killing power of the rifles of an entire brigade.

Turn away for a few moments from this enormous specimen of what inventive genius and mechanical skill have accomplished in the art of war and let me take you to one or two battle incidents to bring more clearly to view the possible effectiveness of such a projectile. We read of the number of regiments and brigades engaged in a certain battle and of the number of killed and wounded on both sides, but how often these figures are merely so many tables of arithmetic. It is a different matter to feel the thud of a bullet. On the first day of June, 1862, at the battle of Fair Oaks, the speaker thus—in a feeling way—took the measurement of one minnie ball. It was scarcely an inch in length, but the impression left, thirty-one years ago, is in more senses than one, vivid to this day. Your imagination may already have suggested what would have been the effect of the five-foot monster, weighing 2500 pounds, had it offered itself for measurement in like manner. You would have been saved the infliction of this paper.

Crowded into that one summer morning were one or two other personal incidents which may help to give the true significance to historic figures—so many wounded—so many killed. Before our brigade was fully engaged, in passing to the left where firing had begun, I met four men tenderly bearing in a blanket a wounded officer. In a moment I learned it was the Colonel in command of the 81st Pennsylvania Regiment—my friend, a beloved and trusted officer. He was already dead.

A little later in the morning my own brother received a rifle ball in the elbow joint. It went crashing through the joint and lodged in the upper bone of the arm. His arm was amputated that afternoon. How little does the simple statement of these facts convey as to the pain endured, as to the agony of the hearts in the far-off home, as to a maimed body for life in the one instance, and in the other a widowed home with all its hopes and joys withered and blasted? How little is even hinted of the sore, sad hearts, that day, of the comrades closely associated with those struck down.

Take any battle of the war, and like personal experiences were passed through and like scenes enacted. At Fredericksburg my college classmate fell while bravely commanding his Company. Then came back to me, as comes now, the memory of joyous, hopeful student days—of a handsome, intellectual face. The light of a noble life had been quenched in its very morning. At Chancellorsville, in the midst of the storm of the battle, the thunder and crash of artillery, my orderly came to me and said: "Captain Dessauer is shot. He is lying in the road yon-

der." Captain Dessauer was an aid of our staff and was my tent-mate. At Gettysburg another of our military family, Captain Griffith, whom we all loved, was shot while riding beside me. I saw that he turned pale and when he said he was wounded in the side I put my arm about him to sustain him as we rode back to find an ambulance. He lived a few days—long enough to see his wife, who came from Philadelphia. But our army moved on and I could not even stay to speak a word of comfort to her.

Such battle incidents and what they suggest are the history between the lines. I have given but two or three in the battles named. Think of how this kind of narrative might be multiplied by all the battles of one war of four years and varied by each participant. Then ponder the ominous figures:

At Fredericksburg: Total Union losses officially reported, 16,030; Confederate, 12,281. At Chancellorsville: Union, 12,353; Confederate, 4576. At Gettysburg: Union, 23,186; Confederate, 30,621.

Totals for the War of the Rebellion in the Union Armies: Killed, 44,000; Died from disease, 186,000; Died in prison, 26,000; Died from wounds, 49,000; Wounded, 280,000; Captured and missing, 185,000. Aggregate of Union losses, 585,000.

The aggregate of Confederate loss could not be far different. In round numbers the grand aggregate of loss of men to the country has been put at one million (1,000,000). The sum total of pain, of agony of soul, of prolonged suffering and life-long bereavement, who can compute? Do you find it noted in any history? If not, your history fails to bring to you its quota of argument in favor of arbitration as a substitute for war.

Come back to the Krupp gun building. This steel-pointed projectile, weighing a ton, can pierce the armor of a vessel like the Victoria or the Camperdown at a distance of nine miles. Its force and penetrating power at a less distance is still greater and has been carefully tested and recorded. There are in this exhibit a number of other coast guns and ship guns whose possibilities of performance are equally wonderful. We have lately seen how quickly a great armored vessel could become a helpless hulk and go to the bottom with its human freight. With a shudder one thinks of the results if such a projectile as has been described should strike any vessel of war that is afloat.

One "quick-firing gun" of this exhibit fires forty shots per minute. In these are used either fuse shells, cast-iron ring shells, steel shrapnels, or case shots; number of balls in shrapnel, 180. Employ a little arithmetic: 40 times a minute, 180 balls in each shell fired, gives 7200 balls poured in among human beings in one minute, to do the work of death. We have not the time to take up in detail the exhibit of the United States Government. But in that may be found modern instruments of war equally effective, equally destructive and death-dealing. By a new automatic rifle, seven shots a second can be fired, 420 shots a minute.

These exhibits of the implements of war have been brought to the Exposition at a great outlay of force and great expense. If the only object were to demonstrate what has been accomplished in perfecting these implements and in increasing their destructiveness or to extend their sale and use to the other nations of the world, it would have been better to have left them at home. But

if any single person shall have received from viewing them a keener sense of the horrors of war, or, better still, a conviction that the time has come when all wars should cease and some better way be substituted for settling national disputes, it will be a gain to humanity.

This Peace Congress, consisting of thoughtful representatives of different nationalities, will at least find in this grandest exhibit of the enginery of modern warfare a new motive to definite and practical action. Its members have long read the histories of battles and of wars with a profounder sense of their meaning than even the authors of history themselves have felt. And *having come* to this Columbian Celebration with a deep sense of the responsibility resting upon them, in view of its opportunity of reaching the whole civilized world, the members of this Congress will, I trust, go beyond the domain of mere argument and take the first steps towards the establishment of an International Tribunal.

THE WHITE-BORDERED FLAG.

BY HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH.

[Read at the Youth's Representative Congress, Chicago,
July 17, 1893.]

I.

To-day the birthright of her hopes the younger nation sings,
As on the pinions of the light the banner lifts its wings;
To-day the future on us smiles and studious labors cease,
To sing the flag that makes the school our fortress wall of peace.
War bugles old, storm-beaten drums, and veterans scarred and true,
Young heroes marching for the States, mid roses winned with dew;
Behind ye thrice a hundred years, before a thousand grand,
What says the past to you to-day, ye young hosts of the land?
What are thy legends, O thou flag, that gladdenest land and sea?
What is thy meaning in the air amid the jubilee?
Flag of the sun that glows for all,
Flag of the breeze that blows for all,
Flag of the sea that flows for all,
Flag of the school that stands for all,
Flag of the people, one and all.
The peaceful bugles blow and blow, White City by the sea,
What is thy meaning in the air? O banner, answer me!

II.

No azure pavon old art thou, borne on the palmer's spear,
No oriflamme of red cross knight or coiffured cavalier;
No gold pomegranates of the sun burn on thy silken cloud,
Nor shamrock green, nor thistle red, nor rampant lion proud;
No burning bees on taffeta in gold and crimson wrought,
No eagle poising in the sky above the ocelot.
No gaping dragons haunt thy folds as in the white sun's spray,
When westerling vikings turned their prows from moonless
Norway;